
Mr. *Lathrop's*

ARTILLERY-ELECTION

S E R M O N.

Delivered at the Anniversary of the Election of Officers

A
S E R M O N

P R E A C H E D

To the Ancient and Honorable
ARTILLERY-COMPANY

I N

B O S T O N,

N E W - E N G L A N D,

J U N E 6th 1774.

Being the ANNIVERSARY of their
ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

B Y

JOHN LATHROP, A. M.

PASTOR OF THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON.

B O S T O N :

Printed by KNEELAND and DAVIS, for SAM-
UEL WEBB, in Queen-Street. 1774.

I hope it be Possible as
much as lieth in you
live Peaceable with all

Bartholomew
Wells

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ARTILLERY-ELECTION

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ROMANS XII. 18.

If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

JESUS CHRIST, the author and finisher of our faith, is stiled, "the prince of peace." * He left the glories of the heavenly state, and assumed our nature, that he might restore peace on earth.

As the mediator between God and a revolted world, he made satisfaction for sin by his obedience and death :—Having finished the work which was given him to do, before he ascended on high, he gave particular orders that the tidings of peace should be published to every creature ; and the ministers of religion in all generations, are bound by the laws of

of their divine master, to beseech the children of men to be reconciled to God, and be at peace with one another.—The disciples of CHRIST are commanded to “follow after the things which make for peace”;^{*} and if it be possible, as much lieth in them, to live peaceable with all men.

THE text supposes indeed there may be cases which it is *impossible*, even for a christian to live peaceably in the present world.—There may be cases in which the prince of peace himself does not require the subjects of his government to be quiet, and tamely submit to insults and abuses.—There may be cases in which a christian ought to unsheath the sword and *resist unto blood*.

THE followers of JESUS CHRIST are to be of a forgiving and peaceful temper of mind: But christians have natural rights as well as other men, and it can be no less their duty to defend those rights against the encroachments of tyrants and oppressors, after having professed their subjection to the Son of God, than it was before. The character of a christian then, and that of a soldier are not in the least inconsistent with each other.—In this world of disorder and injustice, a christian may, and ought to learn the art of war.

IN discoursing from the words before us, I intend by divine assistance, to consider the import of St. Paul's exhortation;—To point out some cases

^{*} Rom. XIV. 19,

cases in which it is impossible for the disciples of CHRIST to live peaceably with *all men*,—And then show the necessity of preparing for unavoidable war.

FIRST then I am to consider the import of St. Paul's exhortation in the text.

By this exhortation we are taught, that the professors of christianity are not to incroach on the rights of their fellow men, or provoke them to war by injuring them in their name, their person, or estates. And farther, this exhortation teaches us to be of a patient and forgiving temper of mind, rather choosing to submit to many inconveniencies, than to seek the immediate destruction of our enemies.—This selfdenying and pacific disposition was discovered to great advantage by the Apostle Paul. Altho' he could assert his rights and privileges with firmness and resolution on proper occasions, he made it his general study to live in peace, and repeatedly charged his brethren to be careful in all their behaviour, that they gave no just occasion of offence.—We may not attempt to deprive our brethren of *any* of their rights :—We may give “*none* offence”.*

AND this doctrine is perfectly agreeable to the dictates of reason.—I have naturally as good a right to life and liberty as my neighbour. If he

* 1 Cor. x. 32.

he attempts to deprive me of what I have a right to, unless it be proved I have forfeited that right. he attempts to do me an injury, and unjustly provokes me to war in my own defence. * My neighbour can have no more right to compel me to serve him, or to deprive me of my possessions because he is furnished with a longer sword, or a stronger arm, than I have to seek his life in the most insidious manner, or rob him of his substance when he is under no apprehensions of danger.

THIS reasoning which every one sees the force of when applied to individuals in a state of nature, holds good with respect to the nations and kingdoms of the world.—A strong nation has no more right to oppress a weak one, than a man of large bones and strong muscles has to beat and abuse his brother, who happens to be of a more slender make.

IT is then evident that offensive war is unjust.—That nation which unprovoked, makes war upon others, only to enlarge its dominions, or increase its revenues, is a nation of robbers; and it would be as impossible to justify their conduct by reason or the word of God, as it would be to justify the conduct of a public highway-man, or those *Arabs* who make it their business to plunder such unhappy travellers as fall in their way.

How shockingly then have many famous commanders prostituted the art of war, and polluted

* See Lock on Government, Chap. III. of the state of war.

polluted their hands with blood ! Alexander the great, who carried his arms through the world, though possessed of uncommon military skill, is a character which ought to be held in abhorrence. His ambition led him to violate the plainest rules of Justice : He spread desolation through the finest countries, and slaughtered vast multitudes who ventured to oppose his arbitrary conduct. *

BUT however much some pagan monarchs, and others who have professed the religion of JESUS may have abused their power to oppress and inflame those kingdoms which were unable to resist them, it is certain the light of nature, and the inspired writings teach the children of men to treat one another in a very different manner.

CHRISTIANITY teaches us to be contented with the allotments of divine providence, and forbids our looking with an envious eye on the possessions of others.—The doctrines of christianity are opposed to those lusts,—such as pride, ambition, a desire of large possessions and dominion over others, which are the source of wars and fightings.

BUT although the gospel breathes the most kind and benevolent spirit, it is plain from many passages in the new-testament, that the sacred writers supposed it possible, and very probable, that christians may be in such circumstances as would justify their contending with their enemies. † The condi-

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tions

* One murder made a villain.

“ Millions a HERO ” — — — PORTEUS.

† Much to our purpose are those words of our Lord, Luk. xxii. 36.—“ He that hath no Sword, let him sell his garment and buy one ”.

of peace proposed to them may be hard and unreasonable. They may be of such a nature as to render it impossible for them to comply without transgressing the revealed will of heaven. Hence St. Paul says, “as much as *lieth in you*, live peaceably with all men” ; plainly supposing it may not be in our power to live peaceably with *some* men under some particular circumstances without offending God, or greatly injuring ourselves.— The enemies of religion may require us to deny our LORD and Master, or to do other things which we know are in themselves sinful, as the condition of life, or deliverance from oppression. In such cases it would not be in our *power* to live peaceably ; and we should rather choose to risk our fortunes, and all we possess in a struggle with our enemies, than submit to their pleasure.

BUT what we have now observed will be more fully illustrated as we proceed, according to what was proposed in the,

SECOND place, to point out some particular cases in which it is impossible, even for the professors of christianity, to live peaceably with *all* men.

IN this place it may be well for us to observe, the kingdom of CHRIST is a kingdom of *righteousness*, as well as of Peace and Joy of the holy GHOST ; * and those who expect, either present or everlasting happiness in the protection and friendship of our glorious Redeemer, must never think of securing peace with their fellow men, at the expence of truth and Justice. The righteous

* Rom. xiv. 17.

LORD loveth righteousness, and hateth the workers of iniquity: It is therefore much safer for his people to trust in him for deliverance from their enemies, than it would be for them to settle a peace on unrighteous terms.—Keeping this in view, it will no doubt appear to us all, there may be cases, in which, so far from its being duty to live peaceably with our fellow men, we ought to enter into war with them.

WERE we in a part of the world, where the laws of society had not obtained, we might, no doubt fortify our dwellings, and defend our persons and substance against such as should venture to molest or destroy us. The patriarch Abram kept up a kind of militia: He had three hundred and eighty trained servants, who were always ready to defend his family and interest. These faithful troops he marched against the four kings who had captivated his nephew Lot, and by managing them in the most advantageous manner, he rescued his kinsman, and slew his enemies.

THAT GOD approved of Abram's conduct is evident from the blessing of Melchizedec, who was a priest of the most high God. "And he blessed him and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God possessor of heaven and earth. And blessed be the most high God which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand".†

THIS instance may serve as a sufficient proof that it is right in the sight of God for individuals in a state of nature, or in those parts of the

† Genesis, xiv, 19 & 20.

the world where the laws of society are not established, to defend themselves, and make war on such as attempt to deprive them of their lives and fortunes.

AND as the laws of reason and of God would Justify an individual in the case now supposed, who should defend himself against such neighbours as attempted essentially to injure him, so is it equally plain, that public Societies, Provinces and Kingdoms, confederated on any general plan for their safety and happiness, may and ought to defend themselves; and when their safety requires it, they may justly make war with the known enemies of their common good, whether those enemies happen to be foreign or domestic.

WHEN people enter into society the great object they have in view is the public good, which includes the good of individuals.—All the laws which they establish, are, or ought to be calculated for the security of the lives and properties of the whole community.

WHEN the community therefore is attacked by other powers, or any individuals of their body are injured in their persons or properties, the laws of society require them to exert the powers they have for the common safety, and the safety of individuals.

BUT however Just and equal a right individuals in a state of nature, or particular Nations and Kingdoms where the laws of society are established

established, may have to life, their liberties and properties, it is certain, the rich and powerful, in all ages, have oppressed and tyrannized over the weak and defenceless.

So little attention has been paid to the law of righteousness, which was at first ingraven on the human heart, that the monarchs of the earth *in general* have not scrupled to seize on the dominions and fortunes of such as were not able to oppose them.—Whoever looks over the history of the world, will find undeniable proof of what we have here asserted.

“ So I returned”, says King Solomon, “ and considered all the oppressions that are done under the Sun : And behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter : And on the side of their oppressors *there was power*, but they had no comforter.” *

WE can scarcely form a conception of any state more completely wretched, than that of those unhappy mortals who lie at the mercy of absolute Sovereigns, whose word is the law, at whose nod the subjects tremble, and who may, when they please, take the life or property of any who belong to their dominions.

ABSOLUTE dominion should not be sought, or if sought, should not be given to any descendant of Adam.—It belongs to the LORD of nature, and to him alone to rule his creatures with uncontrolled sway.

BUT

BUT as long experience has effectually taught us, that the sons of men are constantly seeking to enlarge their power and influence by oppressing their brethren, it becomes all public bodies, when they enter into society, to fortify themselves against the encroachments of their neighbours. And whenever attempts are made on their lives, their properties or liberties, and they find it is not in their power, on just and honourable terms, to live peaceably, they may lawfully draw the sword upon their enemies.

How far one nation may punish the insolence and abuses they have received from another, it is somewhat difficult to say.—When those who have received injuries, and were unwillingly provoked to war become conquerors, they show a greatness of mind in the exercise of mercy. But while they spare the lives of those who fall into their hands, no doubt they may demand satisfaction for the injuries they have suffered, and require an assurance of a peaceable behaviour for the time to come.

THERE are two more cases, I would beg leave to mention in which wars may be justified on equitable terms.—The first is, when the subjects, or any considerable number of them rebel against those rulers who act up to the spirit and original design of the constitution they are under.—The second is, when those who are in government violate the laws they had sworn to maintain, and attempt to oppress and enslave the people whom they had sworn to protect.

IN those parts of the world where civil government is not established, the inhabitants, no doubt have a right to continue in a state of nature as long as they please. One individual can have no right to *compel* another to submit to his authority. And therefore “when men enter into society it must be by voluntary consent, and they have a right to demand and insist upon the performance of such conditions, and previous limitations as form an equitable *original Compact*.” *

THIS being the foundation of civil government as distinguished from that tyrannical dominion which the strong have usurped over the weak, it is evident the *powers* of those invested with authority, and the *duties* of the subjects in general, must be expressed in the original compacts.—These compacts which lie in the foundation of all civil societies, may not be disturbed: A single article may not be altered but with the consent of the whole body.—Whoever makes an alteration in the established constitution, whether he be a *subject* or a *ruler*, is guilty of treason: Treason of the worst kind: Treason against the state: † For such treason many rulers as well as subjects have lost their heads.

CIVIL

* See LOCK on Government. VOTES and PROCEEDINGS of the Town of *Boston* 1772.

† “TREASON. An offence committed against the dignity and majesty of the *common-wealth*.” —

JOHNSTON'S DICTIONARY.

TREASON is defined to be an offence committed against the security of the *King* and *Kingdom*. —

“EVERY MAN HIS OWN LAWYER.

To extend the Governor's right to command, and subject's duty to

CIVIL Government being founded on compact, those who are invested with authority, have certain *rights* which may not be invaded, while they keep within the limits prescribed them, and are the ministers of God for good to the people who appointed them.—Such rulers have an undoubted right to an honourable support.—As they devote their time to the service of the people, it may reasonably be expected they will make provision for them suitable to their rank. But it must be remembered the *people* are to Judge what shall be given; for, although rulers may think they deserve more than the people seem willing to grant, less damages would accrue to the public, from their withholding, in some cases, those grants which they *ought* to make, than from putting it in the power of rulers to seize on the property of the subjects at pleasure.

THOSE rulers who take from the people what they please under the notion of a reward for their services, are *tyrants*, and the people are *Slaves*.

AND further, while those who are in government act up to the spirit and design of the constitution

“to obey, beyond the laws of ones country, is treason against the
 “constitution, and treachery to the society whereof we are members.
 “*Glanvil* who was a learned lawyer and chief Justice in
 “*Henry the second's* days.—informs us that there was in
 “his time such a thing as high Treason against the
 “Kingdom. LORD SOMERSET.

Gov. Hutchinson in his history of the Massachusetts Bay. Vol. I. P. 442 informs us, the fathers of this province, in their ancient Body of Laws made conspiracy to invade their own common wealth, or any treacherous perfidious attempt to alter and subvert fundamentally the frame of their polity and Government, a CAPITAL OFFENCE.

stitution they are under, they have a right to demand obedience: And when any number of Subjects break their oath of allegiance, and rise in rebellion against lawful authority, the rulers, assisted by such as adhere to them and the original constitution, may justly make war with the rebels, and endeavour to reduce them.

THIS doctrine is agreeable to the practice of the ancient Jews in their best and purest state, as well as that of the most enlightened modern nations.

AND the same principles which would justify rulers, assisted by those who adhere to them in making war upon rebellious subjects, will justify the people in making war upon rebellious rulers.

It is an undoubted truth that the laws of every well constituted society, nation, or state, are above Kings, * and are designed to hold them
C in

“ Those who flatter the King that he is above the law, do
“ most notoriously contradict one of the first axioms of our
“ regal government, which is, *Lex facit Regem*; and he hath
“ originally subjected himself to the law by his *Coronation*
“ *Oath*.”
LORD SOMMERS.

“ The exceeding the bounds of authority is no more a right
“ in a *Great*, than a petty officer, no more justifiable in a
“ *King* than a *Constable*. But so much the worse in him as
“ that he has more trust put in him, is supposed from the
“ advantage of Education and Counsellors to have better
“ Knowledge, and less reason to do it, having already a
“ greater share than the rest of his brethren.”

LOCKE on Government.

“ —A

in subjection as well as the people.—Treason and rebellion therefore may be considered as acts of Violence against the *original compact*, the constitution and laws of society, whether the persons guilty be *rulers* or *subjects*.

I AM not insensible this doctrine has been controverted, if it can be said any thing is controverted, when, without reason or argument it is boldly denied, and the contrary supported by fagot and sword.

ABOUT a hundred years ago, when the throne of Great Britain was held by arbitrary Princes, many clergymen, who, we may suppose, set a higher value on preferments than they did on civil liberty or the rights of conscience, appeared zealous advocates for passive obedience and non-resistance; and were wicked enough to denounce the punishment of eternal damnation against those who ventured to oppose the most tyrannical monarchs.—But that slavish doctrine is now generally exploded.—It is so contrary to reason, and the common sense of mankind, that it would
be

“—A King governing in a settled Kingdom, leaves to be
“ a King and degenerates into a *Tyrant*, as soon as he leaves
“ off to rule according to his Laws.”—All Kings that are
“ not *Tyrants*, or *Perjured*, will be glad to bound themselves
“ within the Limits of their Laws. And they that per-
“ suade them to the contrary, are *Vipers*, *Pests* both against
“ them and the common-wealth.”

be but a mispence of time to expose its obfurdity. *

To pretend the precepts of the new teftament require us to yield a quiet and peaceable fubjection to the infults of a cruel, ignorant and defpotic wretch, who might poffibly make his way to the throne, by murder and rebellion, would be to blafpheme the word of God; and I believe no man of underftanding would be perfuaded to embrace fo vile a fentiment even if the evidence of preternatural events could be adduced in fupport of it. †

“ THE greateft and wifeft nations, and the
“ beft of men in all ages,” “ fays a fine writer, †
“ have reckoned it not only lawful for the peo-
“ ple, under the moft abfolute governments to do
“ themfelves juftice in cafe of oppreffion, but
“ have thought the doing of it a duty incumbent
“ on them, and which they owed to themfelves
“ and their pofterity : And the chief inftruments
“ of

* See Dr. EDWARDS’s Difcourfe of Non-Refiftance, and paffive obedience.

† St. Paul foretold that the coming of the man of Sin, or that *lawlefs one* fhould be, “after the working of Satan with all power and figns and lying wonders.”—And the learned BISHOP PATRICK in his commentary on the xiiiith of Deuteronomy, fupposes the falfe Prophet, or Dreamer of Dreams, might be permitted to *work a miracle*, in order to feducethe Ifraelites from their obedience to the true GOD.—But whatever unaccountable events may take place, it muft not be fupposed a *true* miracle ever was, or can be wrought to fupport an abfurd doctrine : And we ought rather to fuppose there is fome deception in thofe events which *feem* miraculous, than admit them as evidence in fupport of *nonsense* and wickednefs.—

† LORD SOMMERS.

“ of the great revolutions or changes which
 “ have happened in the world from slavery to
 “ liberty, have always been accounted as *heroes*
 “ sent by God almighty from time to time, for the
 “ redemption of men from misery in this world.
 “ They were accordingly honoured and respected
 “ whilst they lived, and their memories have
 “ been, and will be held in veneration by all
 “ posterity.”

HISTORY affords us many instances of tyrants and despotic rulers who have been put to an untimely death, or drove from their seats of government by the people.—But without going abroad, or examining the records of heathen states, the practice of our own nation has been sufficient to teach us, that the wisest of men have judged it lawful, and expedient, to take up arms against their Kings, when they made dangerous encroachments on their rights and liberties. *

The doctrine of making resistance against Kings when by arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, they render it impossible for the subjects to live peaceably

* If we look into *Magna Charta* we shall find that KING JOHN made a solemn agreement with his subjects, that if he, or any of his Officers should fail to perform the things stipulated, or should break through any of the articles of peace and security, and neglect or refuse to redress the Grievances of the Subjects after complaint had been properly made, it should then be lawful for the Barons, together with the community in general, to restrain and distress him, in all the ways possible, by seizing on his lands, castles, possessions, and in any other manner they could, till the Grievance should be redressed according to their pleasure,

See *Rapin's History of England*

ably under them, is far from being new. It is as old as civil government : * " It grew up with it : † " It is inseparably connected with the Law of self preservation, which is the Law of nature. " ‡

This doctrine has indeed been opposed by infamous *sycophants*, and time serving *priests* : §
And

* I find something so exactly to our purpose in the antient constitution of the Kingdom of ARAGON, that I must beg leave to transcribe it. — " The constitution of their antient government was very remarkable : for when they shook off the *Moorish* yoke they chose *Garcias Xemenes*, descended from the antient Gothick Kings, to be their Sovereign, on condition that if he or any of his Successors, broke in upon their laws, they should forfeit their Title, and leave the people at liberty to choose another. To keep the King to this agreement, they appointed a Magistrate, intitled *Justitia*, to observe the actions of the King and his Officers : And this magistrate was answerable to none for his administration but the general meeting of the states. They likewise enacted, that if the King oppressed any of the Subjects, the great men might assemble and seize upon his Revenues, till he did Justice to the party offended : And when they enthroned the King he was to kneel down before this Magistrate and to Swear, — That he would inviolably preserve their Laws and Privileges. After which they proclaimed the King in the following words. — *We who are as good men as yourself, constitute you our King and Governor, on condition that you maintain us in our rights and properties, otherwise we disown you.* —

ALTAS GEOGRAPHUS.

† LORD CAMDEN's Speech.

‡ LORD SOMMERS

§ When despotic monarchs or a few individuals, have attempted to enslave the people in general, they have usually endeavoured to prevail with the clergy by smiles, and flatteries, and offers of reward, to engage in their base designs. — And not a little to the disgrace of the *sacred order*, many, in ages past, have lent a hand to assist the tyrant in State, in hopes,

And a feeble opposition is still made to it by persons, who, notwithstanding their pretensions to

hopes, herhaps, of being authoris'd to play the tyrant in the Church.

The clergy in any country may be supposed to have considerable weight: And in days of political controversy, all sides no doubt, would be willing to have their influence. But if their *influence* cannot be obtained, the contending parties, at least, will desire their *silence*.—Hence, when any of the clergy venture to mention the duties which rulers owe the people, and give some *broad hints* that there is a design to deprive them of their just rights and liberties, the friends and abettors of tyranny, have been sometimes heard to lament with much affected seriousness, that the ministers of religion become preachers of *politics* instead of the *gospel*.—But it must be owned, some ministers, in former days, who were distinguished for their piety, and zeal for religion, thought it their duty to *acquaint* themselves, and invite their hearers to look into the nature and design of civil government.—Nor do I see, I must confess, how a minister can do his duty in many cases, if he is *ignorant* or *silent* as to these matters.

There are duties which the magistrates owe the people, and there are duties which the people owe the magistrates: But a minister cannot be faithful, either to the *one*, or to the *other*, unless he is capable of judging for himself, whether the magistrates answer the design of their appointment, or the people are disposed to be properly subordinate.

Ministers ought to preach against all breaches of the moral law, and no doubt injustice, oppression, and tyranny are moral evils, as much as riots, tumults, and licentiousness.

That ministers ought to give *some* attention to political matters will farther appear, when we consider they have an interest in the laws of the land, and are subjects of civil government as well as other men: And among protestants, where ministers are allowed to marry, and have families, it must be supposed they have as tender a concern for posterity, and are as desirous of leaving them *free* and *happy* as any of the community, their *rulers* not excepted.

In short, when I hear people *gravely* pretending that the ministers of religion should never meddle with political matters, I cannot help suspecting they are engaged in some bad cause which they wish to carry without opposition.

to loyalty would probably be the first to assist a Roman Catholic pretender in his way to the throne.

It is astonishing that the advocates for passive-obedience and non-resistance, can, with any tolerable countenance, profess their loyalty to George the III^d, since they must know, that by opposing the *Stuart* family, the British crown was given to the House of *Hanover*.

But however strange, it is still possible, that some whose nearest connections were armed and fought against George the III^d, can without a blush, charge others with rebellion, who have ventured their fortunes and lives to defend and enlarge his Majesty's dominions,—Who glory in their attachment to the English constitution and the present reigning family, although they cannot *fully* assent to the *omnipotence* of a British Parliament, or acknowledge their right to tax millions of good subjects, whose distance from Old-England will always prevent their being legally represented.

THAT we may and ought, to resist, and even make war against those rulers who leap the bounds prescribed them by the constitution, and attempt to oppress and inflame the subjects, is a principle on which alone the great revolutions which have taken place in *our* nation can be justified. A principle which has been supported by the most celebrated Divines * as well as Civilians—

* This principle was adopted by *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Malancthon*, *Zuinglius*, *Austin*, and the reformers in general. *St Chrysostom* explains

lians.—He who calls the *principle* in question gives us reason to suspect his loyalty : He who *rejects* it, is an enemy to our present rightful sovereign. —

THE dispute between Great Britain and the American colonies on the right of taxation, just now referred to, has become a very serious one ; and where it will end, God only knows.

PERHAPS some historian who may flourish less than half a Century hence, will transmit an account to posterity, not unlike the following.

“ Soon after the *Americans*, being assisted by
“ some brave European troops, had conquered
“ Nova-Scotia,

explains those words of our LORD, Matth. XXVI, 52. *For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword*, in the following manner : “ For a man to take the sword, is
“ to draw it when it is not put into his hands by the laws ;
“ therefore he who offers unjust violence, *takes* the sword : But
“ on the other hand, he who uses a just defence does not *take*
“ the sword, but he draws a sword which the laws put into his
“ hands.” And in his commentary on Rom. xiii. 5. *Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but for conscience sake* ; he says, “ These words do concern not
“ only the *Subject*, but also the *Magistrates* themselves, who
“ when they turn tyrants do overthrow the ordinance of
“ GOD, no less than the seditious. And therefore their
“ consciences are guilty too, because they obey not the ordinance of GOD, that is, the laws, which they ought to
“ obey : Therefore the threatnings which are here set down,
“ do pertain likewise to them.”

The primitive christians resisted *Lucius* their Emperor for persecuting them contrary to law ; and *Constantine* the great join'd with them, who, the historian says, “ held it his duty to deliver an infinite number of people by cutting off
“ a few wicked ones, as the pests and plagues of the times.”

“ Nova-Scotia, Louisburg, all Canada, and the
 “ french settlements on the Lakes, together with
 “ the western and southern Indians, some among
 “ them, who were unfriendly to the popular go-
 “ vernment established by their fathers, projected
 “ a scheme for an American revenue, *intentional-*
 “ *ly* to aggrandize themselves and their connec-
 “ tions, but *expressly*, “ for making a more cer-
 “ tain and adequate provision for defraying the
 “ charge of the administration of justice and
 “ the support of civil Government.

“ This plan was laid before the Parliament
 “ of Great-Britain ; and although opposed with
 “ great spirit, and the clearest reasons by seve-
 “ ral illustrious members of that august assem-
 “ bly, * it was adopted. Several experiments were
 “ made to carry this plan into execution which
 “ proved unsuccessful.—That which bid the
 “ fairest was a duty on the *East-India* Teas : Large
 “ quantities were therefore sent out under the
 “ protection of the British Ministry. The fate
 “ which this dutied article met with was dif-
 “ ferent in the different colonies to which it was
 “ sent : But the opposition was general. At *Bos-*
 “ *ton*, after every possible endeavour was used
 “ to save the property of the East-India com-
 “ pany, by sending the several cargoes of tea
 “ back which arrived there, and the people
 D “ found

* Specimens of the arguments in opposition to the intention of Parliament to raise a revenue from the Americans may be seen in MR. PITT'S Speech on the stamp act, and LORD CAMDEN'S on the declaratory Bill. See the Farmer's letters, which will be read with inexpressible pleasure by the true friends of liberty in every future age of the world.

“ found themselves unable to do it, unknown
 “ persons, many of them supposed to be from
 “ the neighbouring country, under the cover of
 “ night, boarded the ships which had brought
 “ in the Teas, and emptied every Chest into
 “ the Sea.

“ THIS act of violence on the property of the
 “ East-India company, was so highly resented by
 “ the parliament of Great-Britain, that previous
 “ to making any demand on the town or pro-
 “ vince of satisfaction for the Teas which were
 “ destroyed, an act was suddenly passed to block
 “ up the port of *Boston*, and put an end to their
 “ trade; by which many thousands of *innocent*
 “ people, were immediately deprived of the means
 “ of subsistence, and reduced to the utmost degree
 “ of poverty and distress.

“ THIS extraordinary act of parliament for
 “ blocking up the Port of Boston, by which
 “ most grievous pains and penalties were inflic-
 “ ted on the inhabitants, before it was possible
 “ for them to obtain relief from the crown, e-
 “ ven on supposition of their being ever so hum-
 “ ble and compliant, gave an alarm to the whole
 “ continent.—The cause was considered as a com-
 “ mon one.—A *Congress* of the principal inhabi-
 “ tants of all the colonies was held as soon as
 “ possible: The result of which was, a quiet and
 “ peaceable suspension of trade to and from
 “ Great-Britain.—Many affluent merchants laid
 “ up their ships, and turned their attention to
 “ manufactures; and in a short time the whole
 “ continent was well supplied with every neces-
 “ sary

“ fary article which had formerly been imported
“ from Britain, wrought among themselves.

“ FROM that period we may date the glory
“ of America. The colonies being firmly uni-
“ ted were free and happy.—They made rapid
“ progress in population, and in the improve-
“ ment of every useful art : And by their *uni-*
“ *on*, their virtue, and industry, rose to their
“ present degree of opulence and strength.”

OR is it possible for this generation to afford
materials for the historian to write,——“The Ame-
“ ricans tho’ naturally fond of liberty, and tena-
“ cious of those rights which former Kings had
“ confirmed to their ancestors, at length *Iffachar*
“ like, bowed their shoulder to bear, and became ser-
“ vants unto tribute.

“ THEY had indeed made several noble stands
“ against what they considered as infringements
“ of their constitutional rights and privileges ;
“ but at length unhappy divisions took place
“ among the Merchants : The lead-
“ ing men could agree on no plan for the ge-
“ neral benefit ; and those who expected to reap
“ advantage from the establishment of a reve-
“ nue, found means to create fatal jealousies
“ between the several colonies.—The friends of
“ liberty who remained in those days of gene-
“ ral corruption and venality, finding themselves
“ unable to stand against the torrent
“ which bore hard against them, were forced to
“ abandon the cause ; and an opposition to such
“ revenue laws as the parliament of Great-
Britain

“ Britain saw fit to enact, was never after attempted.

“ FROM this time (which we may *suppose* to be
 “ in the 14th year of George the 3^d) the Americans began to lose their virtue, their love
 “ of freedom, and their religion. And being sunk
 “ by degrees under burdens, which at last were
 “ intolerable, the body of the people became the
 “ most ignorant, stupid and abject creatures in
 “ the world, fit only for slaves to domineer-
 “ ing masters whose interest it is to hold them
 “ in absolute subjection. * ”

BUT I forbear :—You command me to cease, and not venture to affront the present generation by supposing it *possible* for them to be guilty of entailing such wretchedness on millions of unborn posterity.†

WE proceed then to the last thing proposed, which was to show the necessity of preparing for unavoidable war.

* The author has been informed that some who heard this discourse could have wished the latter part of this imaginary history had been omitted, as they were fearful it might tend to dishearten some good people at this time of trial ; but he was induced to place the two pieces in contrast, because he fully thinks that *life and death* in a political sense are *now* set before us ; and that the fate of America, for many generations, depends on the virtue of her sons and daughters at the *present* day.

† In this day of uncommon difficulty, the general enquiry seems to be, how shall we preserve our liberties,—extricate ourselves from our present troubles, and lay a foundation for future peace and happiness?—Perhaps a full answer is contained

SUCH are the lusts and passions of the children of men, and such has been the state of things from

contained in the following maxim,—SAVE YOUR MONEY, AND YOU SAVE YOUR COUNTRY.

It cannot be deemed treason or rebellion for the Americans to determine they will not make use of those articles of extravagance and luxury, which for years past have been poured in upon us from Great-Britain.—It cannot be deemed treason or rebellion to despise the effeminacy of the present day, and endeavour to imitate the Patriarchs of this country, in temperance, plainness of dress, and simplicity of manners.—If we look into our old colony Laws we shall find the fathers of New-England took prudent care to prevent unnecessary expences in dress. If any of the common people wore *Gold* or *Silver* lace, or other costly ornaments which were enumerated, the Select-Men of the towns in which such offences were committed, had authority to assess them in the country rates at two hundred pounds.—Children or servants under government in families, who wore any apparel exceeding the condition or quality of their persons or estates, upon conviction, were, for the first offence, to be admonished: the second, to pay twenty shillings: the third forty shillings, and so following as the offences were multiplied, to pay forty shillings a time to the treasurer of the county.—Could those venerable fathers, raise their heads a moment from their peaceful slumbers, and view their sons and daughters, many of whom can but poorly afford it, arrayed in costly apparel, or tinsel finery of fantastick contrivance, methinks, ashamed of a soft & profligate offspring, they would wish to shrink back into the darkness of death, to hide from their sight.—

It cannot be deemed treason to make our own clothes, which we can certainly do in a little time.—It cannot be deemed treason to save millions sterling every year.—The Lord of providence has put a price into our hands, and if we are not greatly wanting to ourselves, we may be *free*, we may be *rich*, we may be the most *powerful* people under the heavens.

It is to be wished that societies were formed in all the principal cities and towns on the continent for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures.—Agriculture must be considered as an *honorable* employ: Parents must think more of sending their sons out on farms, or of bringing them up to manufactures and mechanical employments, if they would wish to see the country rich and happy.

from the beginning in our revolted world, that the art of slaying one another has been studied with care, and he who has best succeeded in destroying the enemies of his King and country, has received the highest applause.

To hear the alarm of war,—to see armies forming in battle array,—to observe the whole process of a bloody engagement, and take a survey of the field after the battle is over, must be shocking to one accustomed to the sweets of retirement and peace.—But on what quarter of the globe can we travel, without seeing either the trophies of war, or the bones of those who were slain, “whitening in the Sun.”? What country is there on earth unable to furnish us with a story of victories gained, or battles lost? In this American world our peace has often been disturbed. We have been called to fight the savages of the wilderness. We have also tried our skill and strength with the troops of France and Spain.

BUT altho’ the nations which gave us disturbance from the first settlement of our fathers in this land are now at peace with us, we may not expect that peace will continue always.

NORTH-AMERICA is of great importance. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us, and whatever powers on the other side the Atlantic, are, either in alliance with us, or have the dominion over us, must find our trade or obedience of unspeakable consequence. As we grow into importance, it is more than probable, some foreign powers,

powers, either through Jealousy of our increasing greatness,—a desire to secure the profits of our commerce, or to draw from us a revenue by duties and taxes, in some future time will make war upon us.

FRANCE and Spain cannot well put up with their losses in America the last war.—The moment they think themselves able they will, no doubt, endeavour to take satisfaction; and perhaps attempt to add this whole continent to their dominions.

CONSIDERING the restless tempers of the children of men, and the disposition which the Nations of the world have discovered to encroach on the rights and liberties of one another, a wise and prudent people, even in a time of peace, will be laying up stores, erecting places of defence, and using themselves to arms and discipline.

AMERICA has every natural advantage that can be desired. We have a “continent of three thousand miles in length, and of a breadth as yet unexplored, in which however it is supposed, there are five millions of people.”*

* VOTES and PROCEEDINGS &c. of the Town of Boston.

North America contains an extent of territory sufficient for much the largest Empire in the world. If it be three thousand miles long, and two thousand seven hundred miles in breadth there is room for more than six times as many inhabitants as can live in *Spain, France, Germany, Italy, England, Scotland, and Ireland* all together. This amazing continent runs through a variety of climates.—It has a sea-coast from one end to the other. It has a vast number of

ALTHOUGH, we are not at present able to defend our sea ports against a foreign invasion, our strength by land is very considerable. Some years ago it was found our militia amounted to more than *eight hundred thousand men*.^{*} And no doubt Americans are capable of making soldiers.—“We want not courage ; it is discipline alone in which we are exceeded by the most formidable troops that ever trod the earth”.[†]—And from the spirit which of late has greatly revived, being excited by the example of gentlemen of the first rank and influence, we may venture to say, our militia will soon be equal to any in the world.—Such an extensive country, so filled with inhabitants, united in their exertions against any common enemy, could not be easily conquered.

THESE american colonies were settled on principles fine bays, harbours, and navigable rivers.—The islands belonging to North-America are very numerous, and some of them large.—We have every advantage for husbandry, manufactures, navigation, fishery, and the taking of furr,—and in short for every thing useful and ornamental in life that is to be desired.—If any quarter of the world can live independant of the rest, we may in America.—“The colonies in North-America”, says the Bishop of St. Asaph in his excellent Sermon preach’d before the Society in 1773. “have not only taken root and acquired strength ; BUT SEEM “HASTNING WITH AN ACCELERATED PROGRESS TO “SUCH A POWERFUL STATE, AS MAY INTRODUCE “A NEW AND IMPORTANT CHANGE IN HUMAN “AFFAIRS.”

* A Letter to the *Earl of Hillsborough* printed 1769.

† The elegant and spirited oration delivered March 5th 1774. in commemoration of the bloody tragedy of the 5th of March 1770 by the *Honorable JOHN HANCOCK Esq;*

ciples of loyalty and freedom. No people have ever been more constant in their attachment to the crown of Great-Britain, none more tenacious of the rights and privileges of Englishmen. *

OUR fathers, many of whom were possessed of plentiful estates, adventured into this new world, and braved all the dangers and hardships attending the settlement of an inhospitable wilderness, that they might enjoy those liberties and privileges "*which in those unhappy days were refused them at home*".

THEY purchased the soil on which we tread, of the native aboriginal inhabitants, who alone had a right to dispose of it, or they gained it at the expence of much treasure and blood.—

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* Whoever looks into the charters which were granted to the first adventurers into this country will find, the right of imposing and levying "proportionable and reasonable assessments, rates and taxes is *solely* and expressly lodged with the *commons* of America, represented in their several assemblies".—And King Charles the first did promise, and expressly covenant with the proprietors of one of the American colonies in particular (*Cæcilius Baron of Baltimore*,) that after the date of the *Charter*, neither he nor his heirs or successors should "set or make, or cause to be set, any imposition, custom, or other taxation, rate or contribution whatsoever, in or upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the said Province, for their lands, tenements, goods or chattles within the said Province, or to be laden or unladen within the ports or harbours of the said Province".

The charters first given to the American provinces constituted them "*seperate common wealths*". They are by their charters *strictly* independent states, saving only they are required to acknowledge their faith and allegiance to the sovereign of Great-Britain.

I hope their posterity will never suffer themselves to be deprived of it, at a lower price.

WHEN our fathers had purchased the land we now inhabit, they had an undoubted right to take up arms in the defence of it, as well as in defence of their lives and liberties. And as the wars which were carried on first against the Indians, and afterwards against the French and Indians *jointly*, were defensive, they may be justified on the purest principles.

As a nursery for officers to command such troops as it should be judged necessary to raise from time to time, and employ in the defence of their country, this ANCIENT COMPANY was formed.—The event has given full evidence of the utility and wisdom of the design; and this day the company and institution both, are declared HONORABLE by the presence of,———this large assembly. †

ENCOURAGED

But notwithstanding the rights and privileges of the Americans were so clearly expressed, and so carefully guarded, by the charters which were given by former Kings.—not many years ago, “an act was pass’d, declaring the power
“ of the British Parliament to bind these colonies, IN ALL
“ CASES WHATSOEVER.

Nor did the affair rest in a naked *declaration*, but duties have been laid on a variety of articles, for the express purpose of *raising a revenue*.

At this exercise of parliamentary power, the Americans were alarmed, and a general murmur was heard from one end of the continent to the other.

We know what our fathers suffered in the land of their nativity: We know how our fellow subjects in England, in Scotland, and Ireland, are at this day bowing down under an insupportable burden of taxes: We have not the most distant expectation of being treated with more tenderness than

ENCOURAGED by an experienced CAPTAIN GENERAL AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF, it is to be hoped a martial spirit will be more universally diffused, and that discipline which alone is wanting to make the Americans good soldiers, will be carried to a greater degree of perfection, through the whole continent, than ever yet it has been.

BUT while we wish to see the art of war cultivated among us, let it be always remembered the soldiers must be in constant subjection to the

than our fellow subjects on the other side the *Atlantic*.—Should we acknowledge the right which is claimed by Parliament, we are taught by one of the members of that House (Mr. R. Rigby) what we may expect.—“*When things are returned to a peaceable state,*” as a reward for our tameness, we are to be favoured with additional taxes.—In process of time, if we are quiet and easy, we may possibly have taxes and duties on our lands, poll-taxes, fires, lights; and on every article of trade and merchandize.—Then we may see what some have wished and prayed for:—*English liberties sufficiently abridged; and our lands divided into Lordships*.—We shall have but two sorts of people, the rich and the poor: Our husbandmen and mechanicks, who now rejoice in the midst of plenty, will then, we may suppose, be as unable to furnish themselves with the comforts of life, as multitudes are in Great-Britain and Ireland, who, however industrious, are seldom able to taste a bit of meat.

The turkish slave, or frenchman, hobbling in wooden shoes, cannot be more wretched, than the inhabitants of any other nation, who are obliged to labour night and day for those lordly masters, who scarcely leave them enough from their hard earnings, to support a miserable existence.

† The Governor, his Majesty's Council, and the Commons house of assembly, have usually attended on these occasions; but His Excellency GOVERNOR GAGE, having removed the court to *Salem*, it was out of their power to give a general attendance on the exercises of the Day.

the laws of the land — The soldier may never make use of arms, but when he is ordered by the constituted guardians of our rights and liberties.

It is necessary that every State or Kingdom, be able to raise an armed force at a short warning. Their enemies may suddenly invade them, and the consequences might be fatal, were they not able to command proper forces for the common defence.

THAT provision may be made against unexpected emergencies, as well as the more deliberate attacks of the enemy, the wisest States keep up a *disciplined militia* — A well disciplined militia, consisting of men who have *property* of their own, are a much better, and more certain defence to the country they live in, than it is possible for a standing army, of mercenary troops to be.

MERCENARY troops, who, I may be allowed to say, are not in general possessed of those sentiments which ennoble human nature, cannot be trusted in a time of danger, farther than they are influenced by an expectation of plunder, or pay ; or a fear of punishment if they are found attempting to desert their colours. — Let them have an assurance of a greater reward, and we may suppose many of them would be willing to change their livery, and engage in the service of a different master.

BUT a well disciplined militia, composed of men of fortunes, of education, and virtue, when called to the field of battle, feel themselves excited to the most vigorous action, by motives infinitely superior to the expectation of spoils taken from their enemies, or the wages which the masters of mercenary troops engage to pay them.—They fight *pro aris & focis*: They fight for their fathers and mothers,—for their wives and children,—for their private property,—for their liberty,—their religion, and the honour of their God.

ALTHOUGH mercenary troops have been used to answer great purposes, it must also be acknowledged, they have been the instruments of the greatest tyranny and oppression.—A despotic monarch who is able to support a large army of such troops, may force his subjects to comply with the most arbitrary measures, and glory in the thought of being absolute in his dominions.*

STANDING armies in general, in a time of peace, have been judged extremely dangerous to a free state. And when they have been quartered among people, on whom they had no dependence

* A despotic Prince, who has large armies at his command will find more expeditious ways of raising money to support them, than by asking a Parliament to grant regular supplies; “For it is as certain that an army will raise money, as that money will raise an army.—To limit a Prince with Laws where there is an army, is to bind *Sampson* with his locks on.”

dependence for their support, the consequences, in many instances, have been intolerable. †

THE nature of military Government is so different from the laws of a popular civil community, that experience has sufficiently proved, they cannot be well united together.—And those princes who have attempted to enforce oppressive edicts with the point of the sword, have always lost the affections of the subjects, and provoked them either to *resist*, or abandon a kind of Government, to which reason and conscience, forbid them to submit,

As the means of defence are necessary in all kingdoms and states, and the support of large standing

† The shocking consequences of quartering troops in *this Town* a few years ago, are too many to be rehearsed in a marginal note.—They came on a most disagreeable business,—They were taught to consider us as rebels against the Crown and Government of Great-Britain.—This gave them a kind of licence to abuse the inhabitants, which they did, in a variety of instances, and that with *impunity*.

The Grand-jury of the county, found a bill against one of the officers, for advising the negro-slaves to cut their masters throats, and he promised them protection! but however black the crime was, he was not so much as brought to a trial!—Riotous soldiers were apprehended, but rescued by other parties, and the peace officers were scandalously abused, and insulted, in the execution of their duty!

Thus matters went on till the evening of the fifth of March 1770. when *Captain Preston* led out a party of the 29th Regiment, who, without any orders from a Magistrate, fired upon a number of unarmed people in the open street, by which, five of our fellow citizens were barbarously slain, and several others badly wounded:—The inhabitants then thought it was time to have the point settled, whether they, or the troops, should be masters of the town; and it was happy for both, that the latter peaceably retired to the *Castle*.

standing armies in a time of peace is not only attended with a great expence, but is dangerous to the community in general, care should be taken to discipline the militia, and prepare them to take the field on the most sudden emergencies.

THE necessity of preparing for unavoidable war, is sufficiently evident.——

BUT we cannot close the subject without lamenting those moral disorders which are the source of wars and fightings; and expressing our most ardent wishes for universal peace.—— And while we are studying the art of war, and endeavouring to prepare for defence against a common enemy, let us shew to all who observe us, that we are the loyal subjects of CHRIST; and that in obedience to his precepts, we will never draw our sword in an unrighteous cause, whatever promises of honour, preferment, or riches, may possibly be made us as a reward.

LET us inlist ourselves under the banner of JESUS, and having fought “the good fight of faith, and finished our course,” God grant we may be admitted into his glorious kingdom, where the laws of righteousness shall never be violated and the children of peace shall never be disturbed.

F I N I S.